



(Front cover) An early nineteenth-century engraving, derived from Gilbert Stuart's popular 1805 portrait.

Thomas Jefferson
in Historical Context



Thomas Jefferson in Historical Context

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PREFACE

Thomas Jefferson was a unique and extremely talented individual. His powerful intellect and driving curiosity would have set him apart from most of his contemporaries in any age. At the same time, however long and however well his accomplishments and contributions have weathered the centuries following his death in 1826, Thomas Jefferson was very much a man of the eighteenth century, and of eighteenth-century Tidewater Virginia in particular. Better understanding the eighteenth century therefore helps us to appreciate more fully Jefferson's life and career. The converse, of course, is also true: looking at Jefferson's full and varied life enhances our understanding of the world in which he lived.

The sense that the eighteenth century tells us as much about Jefferson as Jefferson can tell us about the eighteenth century is the guiding theme for this exhibition.



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I. JEFFERSON THE VIRGINIAN : EARLY EXPERIENCE AND EDUCATION

Direct experience as much as birth and heritage made Jefferson a Virginian. He was born into a region and culture dominated by the cultivation, harvest, and sale of tobacco. Large planters wielded tremendous economic, social, and political authority. In his education, choice of profession and active involvement in public affairs, Jefferson lived up to (and, indeed, surpassed) the expectations of eighteenth-century Virginia society.

Like most young Virginia gentlemen, Jefferson received a liberal education in a small, private school setting. His teacher's emphasis upon the ancient classics was typical, although Jefferson's mastery of these texts was not. His attendance at the College of William and Mary did not set him apart from his contemporaries in any noticeable way, although once more his performance did. In choosing to study law, Jefferson again conformed to the expectations of polite Virginia society. His law studies and practice prepared him well for the next logical step for young and aspiring members of Virginia's colonial elite : political service.

Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Society

Thomas Jefferson was born in 1743 at a plantation called Shadwell after the London parish where his mother, Jane Randolph, had been christened. Jefferson's father was a successful planter and surveyor. When he died in 1757, Peter Jefferson left his eldest son approximately 7500 acres of land and twenty slaves. This substantial inheritance from his father and his maternal patrician heritage automatically made fourteen-year old Thomas Jefferson a member of elite Virginia society.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

1. *Loading Virginia Tobacco*. On: Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson. *A Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia*. . . . London, [c. 1775].

Thomas Jefferson was three years old when his father and Joshua Fry surveyed and mapped a vast and heretofore unexplored area of western Virginia in 1749. The conditions were so arduous that Peter Jefferson considered it a miracle that he and Fry survived the trip. The Fry-Jefferson map was the first to depict accurately the interior regions of Virginia beyond the tidewater, and dominated the cartographical representation of the area for 150 years. The map's cartouche depicts the dual dependence upon tobacco and slaves that characterized eighteenth-century Virginia's economy and culture.

2. Jonathan Carver. *Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America*. . . . London, 1778.

Jonathan Carver traveled extensively through what was then America's northwestern frontier during the late 1760s, searching for a northwest land passage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Carver recorded the customs and conditions of the twelve Indian nations he visited, and discussed the state of colonial relations between Britain and France. Carver described Braddock's defeat and was an eye witness of the ambush following the English surrender of Fort William Henry in 1757. Like Peter Jefferson's surveying expedition, Carver's account serves as a reminder of how much of early eighteenth-century Virginia remained unsettled and unexplored by its European inhabitants.

3. Jonathan Carver. *A Treatise on the Culture of the Tobacco Plant*. . . . London, 1779.

Jonathan Carver declared that "[a]mong all the productions of foreign climes introduced into these kingdoms, scarcely any has been held in higher estimation by persons of every rank than tobacco." Virginia planters were well aware of this fact. Tobacco cultivation and export was the mainstay

THOMAS JEFFERSON

and foundation of Virginia's economy. As with the rest of the colony's planter elite, Thomas Jefferson's status as a Virginia gentleman rested upon his cultivation of and control over this valuable commodity.

4. John H. Wynn. *A General History of the British Empire in America*. . . . London, 1770.

John Wynn dismissed the Virginia colony's manufactures as "so insignificant as not to deserve mentioning. . . . The Virginians take every article of convenience or ornament of the mother country." He observed that Virginia planters lived "in general, to the full extent of their fortunes." In consequence, any slump in tobacco prices put them heavily in debt to the London merchants to whom they consigned their cargos. Anxieties over their state of chronic indebtedness would lead Thomas Jefferson and other planters to condemn the consignment system that had generated so much wealth for the empire with so little security for even the most prominent Virginians.

5. Andrew Burnaby. *Travel Through the Middle Settlements in North America*. . . . London, 1775.

The Reverend Andrew Burnaby's travel diary contains some of the liveliest descriptions of Virginia society in the 1760s. He found Virginia's inhabitants indolent, easy, and good-natured, although he observed that being slaveholders had made gentlemen "vain and imperious." They displayed these attributes, according to Burnaby, in "acts of extravagance, ostentation, and a disregard of economy." Virginians tended to "outrun their income" while they spared no expense in supporting pleasures such as horse-racing and entertaining. Like other observers, Burnaby noted that Virginians were "immoderately fond of dancing. . . . Indeed it is almost the only amusement they partake of."

6. Edward Kimber. *The Peerage of England*. London, 1766.

Thomas Jefferson would lead the assault upon aristocratic privilege and authority from the 1770s until the end of his life. It may seem odd, therefore, that Jefferson also owned a copy of Edward Kimber's *The Peerage of England*. Yet, Jefferson's early interest in uncovering and establishing the ancient and honorable lineage on his maternal side was typical of the eighteenth-century Virginia gentry's desire to demonstrate their genealogical as well as their economic ascendancy. In 1771, he requested a London friend to "search the herald's office for the arms of my family." In the event there were none, he wished to purchase some, having been assured "that a coat of arms may be purchased as cheap as any other coat."

Jefferson's Early Education and Legal Career

Thomas Jefferson received his earliest education studying at home with a tutor. When he was nine, his father sent him away to board and study with the Reverend William Douglas. At fourteen, Thomas Jefferson began studying with the Reverend James Maury in Albemarle. Jefferson obtained his early training in and love of the classics from this learned minister and schoolmaster. His education also included riding and dancing. Training and proficiency in these arts was perceived as no less an important part of a gentleman's education than learning to read Greek and Latin. As one contemporary noted, Virginians would "dance or die."

In 1760, Thomas Jefferson began attending the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia's colonial capital. He thus joined the increasing numbers of Virginians educated at home rather than abroad. Many Virginians felt that young men going abroad to study in England came back with an inferior education and with morals thoroughly spoilt by a "corrupted and vicious" lifestyle. Although William and Mary suffered during

THOMAS JEFFERSON

these years from a serious teaching shortage, Jefferson had the good fortune to be taught by Mr. William Small. Jefferson later credited this talented and influential Scotsman with setting the course of his later life and career.

7. *The charter, and statutes, of the College of William and Mary.*
Williamsburg, 1736.

Jefferson attended William and Mary from 1760-1762. Here he met and associated with the colony's youthful elite. The college's students and faculty numbered no more than a hundred. The educational goals stated in its charter were typical of most eighteenth-century British American colleges: the proper training of youth in both learning and good morals, the preparation of ministers, in this case for the Church of England, and the christianization of the Indians.

8. Homer. *Iliad*, trans. by Alexander Pope. Philadelphia, 1795.

Jefferson received his early classical training at the Reverend James Maury's school. He also received instruction in dancing and music and was accounted a good rider. Thus far, his education was typical for a member of the Virginia gentry. Jefferson's command of Greek was unusual, however, for Greek tended to be scanted in favor of Latin. Alexander Pope's English translations of Homer contented less brilliant or assiduous scholars. In a letter to Joseph Priestly in 1800, Jefferson wrote: "I enjoyed Homer in his own language infinitely beyond Pope's translation of him . . . I thank on my knees him who directed my early education for having put into my possession this rich source of delight." Shown here is the first American edition of Pope's enormously popular translation of Homer's *Iliad*.

9. John Locke. *Two treatises of government*. London, 1698.

Jefferson once wrote that he considered Francis Bacon, Issac Newton, and John Locke "the three greatest men that have ever lived, without any exception." Locke's (1603-1704) influence on eighteenth-century intellectual life was enormous and complex. His fame was due not only to the lucidity and penetration of his thought but also to its comprehensiveness. Locke wrote treatises on epistemology (*An essay concerning human understanding*, 1690), religion (*Four letters concerning toleration*, 1685-1706 and the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, 1695), and education (*Some thoughts concerning education*, 1693). Perhaps Locke's most lasting and certainly most famous contribution was to the realm of political theory. Shown here is the 1698 edition of his *Two treatises of government*, a foundation stone of liberal political theory that places the ultimate justification for government on the consent of the people.

10. Benjamin Martin. *Philosophia Britannica; or A new and comprehensive system of the Newtonian philosophy*. London, 1759.

Like almost all educated people of the eighteenth century, Jefferson idolized Isaac Newton. Newton represented something beyond the specifics of his science: the capacity of human reason to penetrate to the underlying order of things and to use this understanding to better the human condition. Jefferson's limited understanding of the higher mathematics contained in Newton's *Principia Mathematica* was typical of most Americans. As with many of the theories and breakthroughs of advanced science in our time, the substance of Newton's achievement was known through popularizers. These included Benjamin Martin, whose *Philosophica Britannica* Jefferson owned along with Newton's *Principia*.

11. Frances Hutcheson. *A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy*. Philadelphia, 1788.

Like most Americans interested in ideas, Jefferson was profoundly influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment. In addition to immortals such as David Hume and Adam Smith, the movement produced many lesser known luminaries. Of his inspiring young Scottish college tutor and mentor William Small, Jefferson said: he "probably fixed the destinies of my life." Francis Hutcheson was the seminal figure for much eighteenth-century Scottish thought. A professor at Glasgow, Hutcheson's first book, *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* appeared in 1725. The *Short Introduction*, shown here, was first published in Glasgow in 1747. Jefferson agreed with Hutcheson that every human being had an innate knowledge of what was morally right or wrong, regardless of education or intellectual abilities. This belief played a major role in the development of the general political philosophy that formed the basis of Jeffersonianism.

Jefferson's Legal Training and Practice

Jefferson's residence in Virginia's colonial capital did not end when he terminated his college career. Polite Virginia society considered either the law or the church acceptable professions for its members. Jefferson met these cultural expectations when he decided to stay in Williamsburg and study law under George Wythe. Wythe was a friend of Jefferson's college tutor and mentor William Small. At thirty-five, Wythe was a successful lawyer and an influential member of Virginia's political community. He also was known for his prowess in Greek and Latin, the further study of which he encouraged his new pupil to pursue. Wythe introduced Jefferson to Virginia society's leading members, among them the Royal Governor, Francis Fauquier. Jefferson became a frequent visitor to the Governor's Palace.

12. Henry Care, *English Liberties: or, the Free-Born Subject's Inheritance*. . . . London, 1680.

Jefferson became a meticulous lawyer under Wythe's tutelage. His first assignment was "Coke upon Littleton." This first of Coke's four volume *Institutes* proved heavy going. Jefferson wrote to a friend in 1762 he wished "the Devil had old Cooke, for I am sure I never was so tired of such an old dull scoundrel in my life." Although Jefferson found reading Coke a trying experience, American revolutionaries would venerate the English jurist for his defence of the rule of law against the exercise of arbitrary royal prerogatives. Coke became known for his defense of English liberties primarily through the republication of his interpretation of the Magna Carta in Henry Care's *English Liberties*.

13. William Blackstone. *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. London, 1770.

Jefferson also owned the second great text, after Coke, favored by all legal professionals of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Blackstone's four-volume *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. Although he referred to the *Commentaries* as "the most elegant & best digested of our law catalogue," Jefferson considered it "only an elementary book." Jefferson also condemned Blackstone for his Tory interpretation of English law. He wrote to Horatio Spafford in 1814 that he believed Blackstone's *Commentaries*, along with David Hume's *History of England* (1790-91), had done more towards the suppression of the liberties of man, than all the millions of men in arms of Bonaparte."

II. JEFFERSON AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Revolution was a formative event not just politically but also intellectually for all of the Founding Fathers. Certainly, Thomas Jefferson's later views on political participation and on the role of

THOMAS JEFFERSON

government are incomprehensible without an understanding of the forces and influences that lay behind them. At the same time, Jefferson's earlier education and cultural background had much to do with the way in which he responded to Britain's colonial policies.

Although neither he nor his contemporaries could have predicted the events of the 1760s and beyond, Thomas Jefferson was well-equipped to fulfill the duties and responsibilities he was to assume. Despite his relative youth (he was only thirty-three when he wrote the Declaration of Independence) Jefferson could draw on an extensive liberal education. In addition, he possessed a sound knowledge of law and had gained practical political experience as a member of Virginia's Assembly.

The Imperial Crisis in Virginia

Thomas Jefferson was twenty-five years old when Francis Fauquier, the governor of Virginia, died in 1768. Fauquier's successor, Lord Botetourt, proved less able than Fauquier to obtain Virginians' love and respect. When Botetourt dissolved the old Assembly and called for a general election, Jefferson ran for and won a seat as a Burgess for Albemarle County. Thus began a career of public service that would span more than three turbulent decades.

14. Richard Bland, *A Letter to the Clergy of Virginia, in which the conduct of the General Assembly is vindicated*. Williamsburg, 1760.

A dispute over the salaries of the Anglican clergy was one of the earliest signs of trouble between Virginia and the English government. In 1758, the Virginia Assembly passed a law that ministers were to be paid not in tobacco, as they customarily had been, but in money at a set rate.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

When rising tobacco prices proportionately devalued ministerial salaries, the clergy complained that the colony was cheating them. Richard Bland's *Letter to the Clergy of Virginia* was written in response to these complaints. Thomas Jefferson's tutor, the Reverend James Maury, brought suit against his parish for the money he claimed had been illegally denied him. Although Maury was indisputably in the right, a young lawyer named Patrick Henry presented so eloquent and persuasive a defense that the jury awarded Maury only one penny.

15. *The Mitred Minuet*. From: *The London Magazine*, London, 1774.

The Quebec Act of June 1774 precipitated another clash between the colonies and British policy on the subject of religion. The Act granted complete religious freedom to Catholics in what had formerly been New France. Although it was non-punitive and did not directly affect any of Britain's other North American colonies, colonists condemned the Quebec Act as one of the "Intolerable Acts" passed by Parliament. This illustration depicts the widespread fears of a tyrannical and despotical alliance between Parliament and the Catholic Church in the wake of the Quebec Act.

16. *The Great Financier, or British Oeconomy for the Years 1763, 1764, 1765*. [London, 1765.]

The Seven Years War was a costly victory for Great Britain politically and economically. The trade and taxation policies designed to reduce the heavy debt that was a legacy of the Seven Years War proved extremely unpopular throughout the colonies. As resentment and fear over revenue-raising measures such as the Stamp Act grew, Virginians joined other colonists in entering into non-importation agreements. This cartoon advises loosening restrictions on colonial trade as a way of decreasing Britain's deficit. The broom attached to a ship signifies it is for sale and symbolizes the economic stagnation of the post-war years. Economy, aided by George Grenville, William Pitt, a Spaniard, and Britannia, attempts to

THOMAS JEFFERSON

balance the budget, while an American Indian declares that "commerce will outweigh" the deficit.

17. Thomas Jefferson. *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*. London, 1774.

By 1774, relations between the American colonies and Parliament had deteriorated so far that some Americans publically repudiated Parliamentary authority altogether. Among these was Thomas Jefferson. Originally intending to present his ideas to a convention of burgesses at Williamsburg, Jefferson became ill and had to send ahead his resolutions to two other convention members. His hastily written and passionate *Summary View* became the best-known of any of his early writings save for the Declaration of Independence. The *Summary View* was printed four times in 1774, twice in the colonies and twice in England.

America at War

Thomas Jefferson was thirty-two when America went to war with Great Britain in 1775. Although he served in various legislative and executive capacities throughout the war, including that of governor of Virginia, he became most famous for his activities while a member of the Continental Congress. Jefferson's most potent weapon was his pen. Other members of the Congress quickly recognized his literary talents, already exercised in the *Summary View*. It is not surprising, therefore, that he was asked to draft the Declaration of Independence.

18. Alexander Campbell. *George Washington, Esqr. General and Commander in Chief of the Continental Army in America. Done from an Original, Drawn from the Life.* . . . [London,] 1775.

In 1775, one of Virginia's delegates to the Continental Congress was called home and Thomas Jefferson was sent to Philadelphia to serve in his place. Three days after Jefferson arrived in Philadelphia, Virginia lost another delegate when George Washington left to assume the position of commander of the continental forces. This popular mezzotint portrait of Washington as Commander-in-Chief belongs to a group of popular images characterized as "fictitious"--no painting by Alexander Campbell has been discovered, and no evidence has been found proving that any such painter existed. Washington wrote to his aide, Joseph Reed, that "Mr. Campbell, whom I never saw to my knowledge, has made a very formidable figure of the Commander in Chief, giving him a sufficient portion of terror in his countenance."

19. *The Congress, or the Necessary Politicians.* [London, c. 1775.]

The Continental Congress remained in session through the summer of 1775. Jefferson attended regularly. He did not engage in the debates, but was a vocal and active participant in committees and conversations. His first assignment was to redraft the Congress's Declaration upon Taking up Arms. Although the English public was greatly interested in American affairs, this cartoon of *The Congress, or the Necessary Politicians* reveals that some Englishmen did not think very highly of colonial discourse. A gentleman seated in the privy (a "necessary house") reads a book entitled, *Answer to a P[amphlet En]titled Taxation [No] Tir[anny]*, while another wipes himself with paper from *resolution[s] of the the [C]ongress*. The picture that decorates the privy wall refers to the tarring and feathering of the Boston customs officer John Malcomb in 1774.

20. The Declaration of Independence

Jefferson's reputation for literary talent led fellow members of the Continental Congress to assign him the task of writing a declaration of independence. Jefferson considered writing the Declaration to be among his three most important achievements. He asked that his gravestone be inscribed: "Author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and the Father of the University of Virginia." This first of two broadside editions of the Declaration issued in Rhode Island in 1776 was misdated by the printer "June 13" instead of July 13.

21. The Reverend William Jackson. *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States*. . . . 2d. ed. London, 1783.

Following the colonies' declaration of independence from Great Britain, the newly independent states began writing their own state constitutions. Virginia was among the first to do so. Jefferson sent a copy of a proposed constitution to the Assembly, but George Mason's draft had already been accepted as the basis from which the delegates would proceed. Both men called for a bicameral legislature, but Jefferson proposed suffrage requirements that would have extended the vote to most white males.

22. Governor Thomas Jefferson to Colonel [George] Muter. February 2, 1781.

As governor of Virginia between 1779 and 1781, Jefferson had to deal with the most pressing and mundane problems associated with waging war. This letter to Colonel Muter reveals the difficulties and minutiae with which a war-time governor in a war-ravaged state was expected to deal. Jefferson left office with an unfeigned sense of relief in 1781. When

THOMAS JEFFERSON

pressed by Edmund Randolph to accept an appointment as a peace commissioner to Europe, Jefferson replied, "I have retired to my farm, my family and books from which I think nothing will ever more separate me." On loan from the John Hay Library.

23. [*Yorktown*] No. 2. [Amsterdam? 1781.]

By 1781, with the Netherlands and Spain joining France in allying themselves with the United States, England had more to worry about than the loss of her North American colonies. In *Yorktown*, an emaciated cow represents British commerce being milked by a Frenchman, a Spaniard, and a Dutchman. The British lion howls in the foreground, his foot wounded by a broken teapot. John Bull kneels in prayer, and rats busily gnaw at banknotes. At sea, the British flagship has sunk, while the French fleet sails freely. The British defeat at Yorktown appears in the background: four Englishmen humbly approach an American Indian who sits on a throne surrounded by Justice, Mars, and Hercules. Broken shackles lie at America's feet and a liberty cap rests on a lance in front of the throne.

III. THOMAS JEFFERSON ABROAD

In July, 1784, newly appointed American commissioner Thomas Jefferson departed for France. He would remain abroad for five years. Jefferson's task was formidable: the Congress instructed him and fellow commissioners Benjamin Franklin and John Adams to negotiate as many treaties between the nations of Europe and the United States as they could. Although his term as commissioner lasted only two years, Jefferson's European sojourn was extended when he succeeded Franklin as Minister to France in 1785.

Neither Jefferson nor his two fellow commissioners had a great deal of success in generating commercial treaties between the

THOMAS JEFFERSON

nations of Europe and the fledgling United States. Despite the lack of progress on the diplomatic front, Jefferson was far from idle during these years. He traveled extensively and expanded the circle of his European acquaintance. He obtained a lifelong appreciation of classical architecture that would influence any building project in which he participated.

Jefferson also became deeply involved at this time in the dispute over America that raged among European scientists of the period. He tried hard to refute claims that America's environment was fundamentally degenerative and thus harmful to any species living there. He insisted that the climate was positively beneficial. The dispute was far from trivial; either interpretation held profound political, social, and economic implications for the United States. The need to prove to European intellectuals that America possessed an environmentally as well as a politically sound climate was one of the motivating factors behind Jefferson's decision to write his first and only book, *Notes on the State of Virginia*.

Personally satisfying and enriching as Jefferson found his sojourn abroad, it caused him to miss the most important political development of the post-war period: the creation of a new federal constitution.

American Commissioner and Minister to France

Jefferson joined John Adams and Benjamin Franklin in Paris in August, 1784. He quickly found that the United States Congress's lack of authority over the trade of the individual states put America at a distinct commercial and political disadvantage. Although he personally favored the free trade theories of the Scottish economist Adam Smith, Jefferson realized that mercantilism was the cornerstone of Europe's commercial policies. He wrote to James Madison in 1785 that without the power to regulate trade throughout the United States, America

would not command "the smallest token of respect . . . in any part of Europe." In 1785, Congress appointed John Adams Minister to England in hopes that he could convince the English government to end its mercantile policy of excluding the United States from the West Indies trade. Jefferson remained in Paris to succeed Benjamin Franklin as Minister to France.

24. Charles Nicholas Cochin. *D. Beniamin Fraencklin Grand Commisaire plenipotentiaire du congres d'Amerique en France*. London, [1777.]

This is one of the most familiar engraved portraits of Jefferson's fellow-Commissioner, Benjamin Franklin. Derived from a painting commissioned by the French King in 1777, it made famous the image of Franklin as a simple, homespun philosopher-statesman. The engraving's popularity reflected the growing "cult of Franklin" in Europe and in France in particular.

25. *John Adams. Born Oct. 20, 1735. Inaug. March 4, 1797. Obt. July 4, 1826* [n.p., n.d.]

To John Adams fell the unenviable task of appearing as American Commissioner at the court of George III of England. His attempts to negotiate a favorable commercial treaty with England were an exercise in frustration. Adams and his wife were received politely enough at Court, but when Adams appeared the following year with his fellow-commissioner Thomas Jefferson, the King thoroughly snubbed them both.

26. Thomas Southard. *His Most Gracious Majesty George the Third*. [London, c. 1785].

In 1788, Jefferson was ordered to England to see if he could assist John Adams in negotiating an advantageous commercial treaty with Great Britain. The mission was wholly unsuccessful. Jefferson enjoyed touring

THOMAS JEFFERSON

the English countryside, but his experiences with British officials strengthened what became a life-long antipathy to the English government. A year after his trip to England, Jefferson wrote that in his opinion, the English "require to be treated with the most hauteur. . . . They require to be kicked into good manners."

The Dispute over America

Although Jefferson experienced little diplomatic success, neither he nor any observer could consider his years abroad wasted ones. He attended the Paris salons and immersed himself in European Enlightenment culture. Perhaps most significantly, he quickly became engaged in the dispute over the nature and effects of the American environment that raged among European intellectuals. The French scientist George Buffon believed that the New World's climate was fundamentally degenerative and adversely affected the health and vitality of the species dwelling there, including man. Others, including the Italian intellectual, Filippo Mazzei, disagreed with Buffon's conclusions. Jefferson, not surprisingly, strongly opposed Buffon's thesis. In 1785 the first edition of Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* appeared in Paris. Much of the book was a direct refutation of Buffon's theory of American degeneracy.

27. George Louis Leclerc Buffon. *Herrn von Buffons Allemeine Natureschichte*. Berlin, 1771-1774.

The eminent French natural scientist George Buffon argued that New World animals were genetically inferior to their Old World counterparts. He also believed that America's indigenous human population was weaker than people from other continents. This theory formed the basis of his best-known work, *Histoire naturelle, generale et particuliere*. The *Histoire* was originally published in 44 volumes between 1749 and 1804. Shown here is

the second of a seven-volume German translation of selections from Buffon's highly influential work.

28. Thomas Jefferson. *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Paris, 1785.

Between 1780 and 1782, Jefferson answered in detail twenty-two questions submitted to him by the secretary of the French legation in Philadelphia concerning Virginia's vegetation, animals, minerals, peoples, and customs. He commented extensively on controversial issues such as slavery and religious freedom, and attempted to refute the theory of the degeneration of American species. These responses became the basis for the *Notes on the State of Virginia*, the first and only book Jefferson ever wrote. The first edition of the *Notes* was published in Paris in 1785. It consisted of only two hundred copies and was not intended for general distribution. When Jefferson discovered in 1786 that a Paris bookseller intended to publish a French translation, he reacted with dismay. Jefferson decided to have the *Notes* reprinted in English "to let the world know that it was really not so bad as the French translation had made it appear." The copy shown here is the rare French first edition of 1785, inscribed and autographed by the author.

29. [Filippo Mazzei]. *Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats-Unis de l'Amerique Septentrionle*. Colle and Paris, 1788.

Filippo Mazzei was an Italian who traveled to North America before the Revolution and settled in Virginia, near Monticello. He became a close friend of Jefferson, who provided Mazzei with notes and materials relating to the climate and natural history of North America. Mazzei's four-volume *Recherches* attempted to refute Buffon and other critics of the New World by lauding the salutary features of the United States' environment, inhabitants, and political system. Mazzei quoted Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* several times.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

30. *We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union . . . do ordain and establish this Consitution . . . [at end:] George Washington, President. . . .*[Philadelphia, 1787.]

Like John Adams, Thomas Jefferson was abroad when the new federal constitution was written in 1787. Jefferson was kept abreast of this crucial event, however, by his young friend James Madison. The copy shown here is the form in which the Constitution was officially distributed to the states for ratification. On the whole, Jefferson approved of the document, although he agreed with his fellow-Virginian George Mason that the absence of a bill of rights was a serious omission. When Jefferson returned to the United States in 1792, he accepted an appointment to the post of Secretary of State in the Washington administration.

IV. FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS: JEFFERSON IN DISSENT

By 1792, disapproval tempered Jefferson's initial enthusiasm for the new government. Suspicious of England, Jefferson favored a pro-French policy that George Washington's administration chose to disregard. Jefferson's opposition to the goals and policies of the Washington administration were revealed most clearly in his feud with the Treasury Secretary, Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton was an ardent Federalist. His fiscal goals and political philosophy assumed a need for a powerful central government that could neutralize or utilize the misguided aims of a self-interested electorate. Jefferson found this pessimistic and cynical view of ordinary Americans politically dangerous as well as distasteful. His own view of human nature was much more optimistic. He agreed with Frances Hutcheson and other Scottish philosophers that all men had an inherent moral sense that enabled them to know intuitively the difference between right and wrong. Jefferson's faith that ordinary Americans could and would choose the most talented and moral political leaders lay at the heart of the movement that became known as Jeffersonian Republicanism.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

With John Adams' election to the presidency in 1796, Jefferson's disapproval of Federalist policy burgeoned into outright political opposition. A Jeffersonian faction coalesced around opposition to the Federalist-backed Alien and Sedition Acts and to the government's continued pro-British policy. Federalists accused Jeffersonians of being "anarchists" who wished the United States to go the way of France, complete with tumbrils and guillotine. Jeffersonians meanwhile denounced Federalists as monarchical extremists obsessed with reproducing in America England's corrupt system of government. When Jefferson defeated Adams for the presidency in 1800, he considered his victory a second American Revolution.

31. U.S.--Dept. of State, 1790-1793 (Jefferson) Philadelphia, January 21, 1794. *Sir, In pursuance of an instruction from the President of the United States. . . .* [Philadelphia, 1794.]

Disagreements over public policy between Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, and Thomas Jefferson, the Secretary of State, early came to epitomize the split between Washington Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans. The newly appointed British foreign Minister George Hammond reported to his superiors that Hamilton belonged to the "party of the English interest." Jefferson, in contrast, held Hammond at arm's length. Hammond complained in 1792 that "Jefferson is in the Virginia interest and that of the French . . . it is his fault we are at a distance." Hammond considered Hamilton "more a man of the world than Jefferson. . . . I like his manners better, and can speak more freely to him." This published letter from Jefferson to Hammond is one example of the diplomatic duel in which the two men engaged.

32a. [Alexander Hamilton.] *Letters of Pacificus: Written in justification of the President's Proclamation of Neutrality.* Philadelphia, 1796.

32b.[James Madison.] *Letters of Helvidius: Written in Reply to Pacificus.* Philadelphia, 1796.

Federalists and Jeffersonians also divided over just what should be the United States' role in the clash between England and France. Jeffersonians believed the policy of neutrality pursued by Presidents Washington and Adams violated the existing treaty between France and the United States. Federalists, meanwhile, supported the executive's effort to remain uninvolved in the clash between these two powerful European nations. Written under the pseudonym of *Pacificus*, Alexander Hamilton is the probable author of a series of letters, reprinted in 1796, that defended George Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality. In 1793, James Madison condemned admirers of Hamilton's *Letters* as "foreigners and degenerate citizens . . . who hate our republican government, and the French revolution." His *Letters of Helvidius* also were reprinted in 1796.

33. Thomas Paine. *The Rights of Man.* London, [1792.]

Edmund Burke was among those who condemned the French Revolution. Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* was written in direct response to Burke's famous and influential work, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Like Paine, Jefferson felt the French and the American Revolutions were intimately connected. He wrote privately that he approved of Paine's book; he had "no doubt our citizens [would] rally a second time round the standard of Common Sense." Jefferson coupled his endorsement with the comment that it was high time something was to be "publicly said against the political heresies which have sprung up among us." When the printer who published the Philadelphia edition quoted Jefferson in the preface, these private comments became unintentionally public. The unflattering reference to John Adams was unmistakable, and the incident drove another wedge between Federalists and Jeffersonians.

34. William Playfair. *The History of Jacobinism, its crimes, cruelties and perfidies*. . . . Philadelphia, 1796.

Those who condemned the French Revolution and its excesses also attacked Jefferson and his followers for supporting it. William Playfair's *History of Jacobinism* is one example of the way in which enemies of the Jeffersonians attempted to discredit them by linking them to events in France. An appendix to the *History* by "Peter Porcupine" made the connection explicit.

35. Legislature of Kentucky. *In the House of Representatives, November 10, 1798*. . . . [Frankfort, Kentucky, 1798.]

Clashes over foreign policy formed the backdrop against which were played out disagreements between Jeffersonians and Federalists on domestic issues. The Alien and Sedition Acts were a Federalist attempt to curtail what they believed were unjustified and dangerous attempts to undermine the central government. Jeffersonians condemned the Acts as part of a general Federalist monarchical program of extinguishing the political rights of the individual states and their citizens. Jefferson secretly prepared a written denunciation of the Acts and their supporters. On November 10, 1798, Kentucky's legislature adopted Jefferson's so-called "Kentucky Resolutions." The copy seen here was among the earliest printings of the "Resolutions."

36. Thomas Cooper. *Political Essays Originally inserted in the Northumberland Gazette*. Northumberland, 1799.

Ten persons were fined and imprisoned under the Sedition Act for libeling the United States government and the President. The most famous of these was Thomas Cooper. Cooper was prosecuted for views expressed in his *Political Essays* of 1799.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

37. [Benjamin Franklin Bache.] *Truth Will Out! The foul Charges of the Tories against the Editor of the Aurora.* . . . [Philadelphia, 1798.]

A grandson of Benjamin Franklin was also among those arrested under the Sedition Act. Benjamin Franklin Bache was editor and publisher of the Jeffersonian newspaper, the *Aurora*. *Truth Will Out!* was Bache's personal protest against his arrest.

38. [*Thomas Jefferson milking a cow.*] Newburyport, Mass., [c. 1808.]

Debates over foreign policy did not end with Jefferson's election to the presidency in 1800. The United States seemed fated to be caught between the wartime commercial policies of France and England. In an attempt to force England to accept the free trade philosophy in which he so ardently believed, President Jefferson levied a trade embargo against Great Britain between 1807 and 1808. New England traders especially suffered under the embargo, and Federalists made strong gains in this region in the election of 1808. In this cartoon, Thomas Jefferson is shown milking the cow of commerce, while John Bull holds the horn and Napoleon holds the tail.

39. Rembrandt Peale. *Tho. Jefferson. President of the United States of America. Painted by Stuart, in America.* [London,] 1802.

Although the title of this engraving claims it was modeled on a portrait by Gilbert Stuart, it was actually derived from a painting done by Rembrandt Peale. Peale's portrait depicted vice president Thomas Jefferson at the age of 57. It was more popular during Jefferson's lifetime than any other likeness, and became the prototype for a widely distributed series of American and European engravings.

IV. JEFFERSON ON RELIGION AND SLAVERY

No discussion of Jefferson would be complete without considering his views on religion and slavery. On these issues as in so much else, Jefferson was a man of his time. His positions on both religion and slavery were derived from a complex mixture of Enlightenment philosophy, classical republicanism, and the influence of eighteenth-century Virginia culture and beliefs.

Thomas Jefferson and American Religious Freedom

A variety of influences shaped American religious beliefs and institutions. In Virginia, anticlericalism, religious revivalism, and imperial policy weakened the Church of England's political and social ascendancy. The Revolution was an important influence in the formation of Virginia's and the other former colonies' religious policies. Following the war, movements to separate religion from state policy gained strength throughout the nation. These attempts met with varying degrees of success. Social conservatism among religious liberals like John Adams prevented dissenting sects in Massachusetts from breaking up the powerful alliance between the Congregational Church and the government there. Ardent supporters of the Revolution, the Congregational clergy had not suffered the same loss of credibility as had their Anglican counterparts in the South. The most dramatic developments in the realm of religious liberty occurred not in Massachusetts, but in Virginia.

Thomas Jefferson was one of Virginia's strongest advocates of separating church and state. His own personal and public religious sensibilities owed more to Enlightenment influences and the Church of England's declining authority than they did to the popular evangelicalism of the Great Awakening. A deist who disbelieved in the divinity of Christ, Jefferson anticipated that

almost all Americans would eventually embrace Unitarianism. His own liberal views led him to conclude that dominant sects must be prevented from using government as a means of enforcing religious conformity. That Jefferson numbered writing and sponsoring Virginia's statute for religious freedom among his most important achievements attests to the strength of his commitment to this principle.

40. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. *Instructions from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to their Missionaries in North America.* London, 1756.

Like most of Virginia's colonial elite, Jefferson was born into and raised in the state-sponsored Church of England. Despite its privileged status, the Anglican Church encountered many difficulties in Virginia. Parishes suffered from a continual shortage of ministers. The colony's plantation economy encouraged geographic dispersion that further separated the clergy from their flocks. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded in 1701 to combat these and other adverse conditions. The Instructions of 1756 shown here exhort missionaries to "promote Brotherly Love and Christian Charity," and to "inculcate Submission to Government and Obedience to authority."

41. The Reverend Samuel Davies. *An Account of a Remarkable Work of Grace, or the Great Success of the Gospel in Virginia.* . . . London: 1752.

Colonial Virginia's vast and unsettled territory made the task of administering even a state-supported church a difficult one. Growing numbers of dissenters and an evangelical revival in the 1740s eroded still further the authority of Virginia's Anglican establishment. Samuel Davies' *Account* chronicles the course in Virginia of what became known as the Great Awakening and illustrates its adverse effects upon the Church of England there.

42. *An attempt to land a Bishop in America.* [London, 1768.]

Upon his appointment as Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1768, Lord Hillsborough supported a plan to send an Anglican bishop to North America. The bishop was never sent, but this cartoon depicts what might have happened if he had come to America at this time. It graphically illustrates how many colonists connected Anglicanism with unpopular British policies. This perceived alliance further weakened the Church of England's authority in America.

43. Ethan Allen. *Reason the Only Oracle of Man.* Bennington, 1784.

While unpopular British policies undermined the Church of England's influence in America, a rising tide of deism besieged American churches in general at the end of the eighteenth century. Deism was a product of the anticlericalism and Biblical criticism that characterized the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Although they believed in God, deists rejected many fundamental Christian tenets such as the divinity of Christ and the Trinity. Like many other prominent Americans, such as Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and John Adams, Thomas Jefferson was a deist. Deistical views were not confined to elite circles, however. Ethan Allen was and is best known for being a Revolutionary War hero and an activist in the founding of the state of Vermont. By no means an intellectual, Allen still felt strongly enough about what he believed to be the errors and fallacies of Christianity to take up his pen against them late in life. The result was a work identified by the Congregationalist minister and Yale President Timothy Dwight as "the first formal publication, in the United States, openly directed against the Christian religion."

44. Paine, Thomas *The Age of Reason.* Boston, 1794.

Thomas Paine was a political radical all his life and played an enormously important role in expressing and galvanizing American revolutionary sentiment. His religious radicalism was less well-known. Paine's views concerning orthodox Christianity became apparent when he

published the *Age of Reason*, 1794-1796. Religion, as always, was a sensitive matter. Writers were defined not only on the basis of their belief in theological tenets such as the divinity of Jesus and the Trinity but also on whether they appeared friendly or antagonistic to Christianity. Paine's deism unsettled many Americans, including those who privately ascribed to similar doctrines. Many such men, including George Washington, turned against Paine and condemned his alleged atheism. In contrast, Jefferson remained Paine's friend and protector. His public support for this now-unpopular radical proved a heavy political liability.

45. James Madison, *The Anti-Tyther: A Memorial and Remonstrance*. Dublin: 1786.

James Madison wrote this pamphlet in opposition to a bill then before the Virginia Legislature known as the "Teacher's Bill." Previously, all Virginians had been required to pay taxes to support the Church of England. Under the system proposed in the Teacher's Bill, people would still have to pay taxes to support a church and a minister, but they could choose to which minister and church their money should go. Many prominent Virginians supported the bill, among them George Washington and Patrick Henry. Madison, however, called for the complete separation of religion and the state. The defeat of the Teacher's Bill cleared the way for Jefferson's statute guaranteeing complete religious freedom and the elimination of state-sponsored religion.

46. Virginia. *A collection of all such acts of the General Assembly of Virginia*. . . . Richmond, 1794.

Jefferson considered writing and sponsoring Virginia's statute for religious freedom to be one of his most important achievements. The act aimed to protect, he said, "the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mahometan, the Hindoo, and infidel of every denomination."

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Slaveholder and Republican

Thomas Jefferson was born and raised in a society where slavery was an obvious and accepted fact of life. He bought and sold slaves from the time of his majority until his death. Unlike George Washington, Jefferson did not manumit his slaves after his death. Since slaves were major financial assets, manumission could be extremely costly. However, like Washington and many other prominent eighteenth-century Americans, Jefferson feared and condemned the institution of slavery.

47. *Virginia Gazette*, January 20, 1776.

When Jefferson became president in 1800, an estimated 900,000 African Americans lived in perpetual bondage throughout the United States, and slavery had existed in Virginia for over seven generations. Although Jefferson was an early critic of the institution of slavery, he and most Americans accepted it as an essential prerequisite to a prosperous tobacco economy. Perhaps just as importantly, slavery was woven into the fabric of everyday life. Few Whites, including Jefferson, could imagine a society in which the two races mingled freely on equal terms. The slave advertisements in this issue of the *Virginia Gazette* graphically illustrate the way in which slavery was perceived and accepted as part of eighteenth-century Virginia's culture and economy.

48. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*. London, 1787.

Jeffersons' attitude toward Africans stood in decided contrast to his attitude toward Native Americans. His determination to prove that the environment of the Americas was as supportive of healthy growth as that of Europe led him to declare the total equality of the continent's native inhabitants. Since African slaves were not indigenous to the Americas, Jefferson labored under no such compulsion to acknowledge their equality.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

His own experiences as a slaveholder and the pervasive racist bias of the times instead persuaded him of their intellectual inferiority.

49a. Benjamin Banneker. *Benjamin Banneker's Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia Almanack*. . . . 1792. Baltimore, [1791.]

49b. Benjamin Banneker. *Copy of a Letter from Benjamin Banneker to the Secretary of State with his Answer*. Philadelphia, 1792.

Despite the achievements of African Americans like Benjamin Banneker, Jefferson remained unconvinced of the potential for large numbers of free Africans to live successfully and prosper in the United States, and he was an early proponent of the idea that free Blacks should be encouraged to return to Africa. Although he believed that depriving any person of their freedom violated their most fundamental right to liberty, he worried about the consequences of liberation.

50. *Toussaint l'ouverture Chef des Noirs Insurgés*. Paris, [c. 1800.]

Like almost all slaveholders, Jefferson worried about the possibility of a slave revolt. His belief that African Americans had been wrongly deprived of their natural rights enhanced his apprehension that a bloody insurrection of slaves against their tyrannical masters could occur in the United States. Jefferson saw his worst fears confirmed when the slaves of Santo Domingo launched a successful rebellion in 1791. What became known as the Haitian Revolution began in the aftermath of the French Revolution, but its local context was a struggle between whites and mulattos for economic power. Toussaint L'Ouverture, a former slave, became supreme commander of the armies of St. Domingo. The bloodshed ended in 1804 with the creation of Haiti as the world's first black republic and the second republic to be created in the Americas after the founding of the United States. Despite the fact that the newly liberated freedmen set up a republican government, Jefferson remained deeply fearful and mistrustful of the new Haitian government.

VI. JEFFERSON AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS THROUGH THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE

The books in this section illustrate Thomas Jefferson's pursuit of happiness through the contemplative life

Jefferson saw himself, like a Cicero, duty-bound to public service but personally longing for a private life. At moments he wished that he could have been a scientist, farmer, architect, or musician and not committed by the "enormities of the times" to be a politician. To his contemporaries, Jefferson was each of these and more; but what distinguished Jefferson was his fundamental desire to put his knowledge and interests to practical use for the improvement of mankind and in particular young America. The formation of his three libraries and his life at Monticello provide a perfect example.

The formation of a personal library was integral to Jefferson's concept of the contemplative life. He used the classification scheme favored by Francis Bacon which regarded the faculties of mind--memory, reason, and imagination--as the proper basis of the organization of knowledge into the three primary units of history, philosophy, and fine arts. That his books were to serve the public is made evident by his stated purpose of collecting "particularly what belongs to the American statesman" and by the sale of his second library of 6,487 volumes to the Federal government to replace the some 3,000 volumes in the Library of Congress burned in 1814 by the British.

At Monticello, Jefferson could pursue in tranquility his encyclopaedic interests: the classics, natural history, music, architecture, landscape design, agronomy, climatology, botany and inventions and to entertain and correspond with his family, friends and strangers. Jefferson could also watch through his telescope the construction of the University of Virginia, his

THOMAS JEFFERSON

"academical village,"--the physical embodiment of the faculties of the mind, where young statesmen would be properly prepared to serve the young nation.

Natural History

51. Mark Catesby. *Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands*. London, 1771.

Jefferson's interest in flora and fauna made him a natural admirer of Mark Catesby (1679-1749). In his *Notes on the State of Virginia* he referred to Catesby's list of birds and he may also have used Catesby for other information. Europeans as well as other Americans shared Thomas Jefferson's interest in natural history. In response to a request from his Parisian friend Mme. de Tesse, Jefferson arranged in 1786 to send numerous American plants and seeds to France. Thomas Jefferson asked that these be sent aboard "the first vessell from Appomattox or James River for Havre."

52. William Bartram (1739-1823) *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida*. Philadelphia, 1791.

William Bartram, born and raised on the famous Bartram estate in Philadelphia, spent five years on his travels (1773-1778). With Jefferson's backing behind him, he might have, but for ill health, been the botanist on the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1803. A friend of Jefferson's, Bartram sent to Monticello the seeds of a silk tree, strawberries, and possibly other plants. Bartram, like Jefferson, was struck by the beauties and mysteries of the natural world. He marveled in his introduction to his *Travels* how the world was "a glorious apartment of the boundless palace of the sovereign Creator . . . furnished with an infinite variety of animated scenes . . . inexpressibly beautiful and pleasing, equally free to the inspection and enjoyment of all his creatures."

53. Benjamin Smith Barton. *A memoir concerning the fascinating faculty which has been ascribed to the rattlesnake and other American serpeants*. . . . Philadelphia, 1796.

Benjamin Barton (1766-1815) was a professor of natural history and botany at the University of Pennsylvania. He was, like Jefferson, a member of the American Philosophical Society. Barton named a plant "Jeffersonia" in recognition of Jefferson's "knowledge of natural history . . . [e]specially in . . . botany and zoology." According to Barton, Jefferson's knowledge of these fields was "equalled by that of few persons in the United States."

54. Carl von Linné. *Dissertatio Medico-Botanica, Sistens Specifica Canadensium*. . . . Skara, [1756.]

Linnaeus, a Swedish naturalist, was the first person to develop a universal binomial system of classification of plants and animals. Jefferson praised Linnaeus for "uniting all nations under one language in Natural History." The desire to "communicate intelligibly with one another" was reflected in Jefferson's knowledge of Latin, French and Italian. Jefferson used the Linnaen system to classify native plants in his *Notes on Virginia*. The text shown here lists plants classified by Benjamin Smith Barton's father.

Landscape Design

55. Robert Castell. *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated*. London, 1728.

This book, of which Jefferson owned a copy, shows, among other things, Castell's conception of the younger Pliny's urban and rural villas, based upon Pliny's descriptions. Of particular influence in the eighteenth century was Castell's rendering of the younger Pliny's rural garden, shown here. Monticello exhibits the same hierarchical integration of living

THOMAS JEFFERSON

quarters, service buildings and landscape in which formal areas are juxtaposed with naturalistic ones. Jefferson, like many of his contemporaries, associated the natural method of gardening depicted in Castell with republican virtues of liberty, reason, and tolerance.

56. Thomas Whately. *Observations on Modern Gardening, Illustrated by descriptions*. (On loan from the Rhode School of Design).

While in England, Jefferson toured English country houses with Whately's *Observations* in hand. The accuracy of Whately's descriptions of various gardens amazed Jefferson. He admired English and French Romantic gardens which exhibited what Whately called "the excellence of park and garden." Jefferson experimented with this form at Monticello, spotting the lawn with flower beds and circling the hill upon which the house stands with a series of paths. This copy of Whately's *Observations* was owned by Frederick Law Olmstead.

Architecture

57. Robert Morris. *Rural Architecture: consisting of rural designs and elevations for buildings in the country*. London, 1750.

In his *Notes on Virginia*, Jefferson bemoaned the state of American architecture, writing that "the genius of architecture seems to have shed its maledictions over this land." While abroad, he sent to the new Virginia capital of Richmond designs and a model for a new state capitol based on the Maison Carré in Nîmes. For Jefferson, buildings like the Maison Carré exemplified beauty and republican purity. Such edifices, public as well as private, thus served an important educational function, by instilling classical republican values in all Americans. Jefferson returned from France with a permanent love of French and Roman architecture and the first collection of French architectural designs in America. As a result of his new experience, he tore down his partially built house at Monticello.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Using elements of neo-classical French and Virginian and English neo-Palladian architecture, Jefferson created a unique mountaintop home. The inspiration for the new Monticello's facade came from similar designs in two English sources: James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture* (1728) and, shown here, Robert Morris' *Rural Architecture* (1750).

58. Marquis de Chastellux. *Voyage de M. le Chevalier de Chastellux en Amerique Septentrionale*, Paris, 1786.

The Marquis de Chastellux (1734-1788) was a member of the French Academy and a Major General in Rochambeau's army. He was one of many visitors to Monticello. In his distinguished *Travels*, Chastellux included much information on America that Jefferson happily supplied and described Jefferson effusively as a natural philosopher, geometrician, musician, astronomer, and statesman. The map shows Chastellux's route through Virginia with his stay at Monticello.

59. Sir Benjamin Thompson Rumford. *Essays, Political, Economical, and Philosophical*. Boston, 1798.

Benjamin Thompson was an American-born Tory, spy, British officer, emigré to England and then to Bavaria, grand chamberlain to the Elector of Bavaria, inventor, physicist, and founder of the Royal Institute with Joseph Banks. Rumford invented a double boiler and drip coffee pot, improved designs for fireplaces, and did important research on heat. Jefferson improved on Rumford's design for making fireplaces more efficient.

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